MEMODANDUM FOR THE RECORD

Cup Inca Proce Attacks on Discourse (2) Direct

Listed below are newspaper and magazine articles which have personally been critical of Director Raborn personally or which have made allegations about discontent in the Agency since he became Director:

- A. Evans and Novak Column, 9 Jan 66 (N.Y. HERALD TRIBUNE, WASHINGTON POST, etc.) -- on Ray Cline leaving and declining morale
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- C. Ulf Nilson article, 28 Dec 65 (EXPRESSEN of Stockholm, Sweden) -- on how LBJ finds the DCI boring and others find him ignorant
- D. NEWSWEEK article, 27 Dec 65--on the "leaky ship" at CIA
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- F. Carl Rowan Column, 19 Dec 65 (WASHINGTON STAR, etc.) -- on reply to criticism of CIA
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- J. Richard Dudman article, 28 Nov 65 (ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH) -- on DCI appearance being inept before Senate committee hearings on Dominican Republic
- K. Joseph Kraft Column, 1 Nov 65 (WASHINGTON POST, CHICAGO NEWS, etc.)--on jibes about the DCI's ability to run GIA
- L. NEWSWEEK "Periscope" article, 13 Sept 65--on DCI shuttering the CIA "public affairs" office (with subsequent N.Y. TIMES explanation)
- M. Ted Lewis article, 22 May 65 (N.Y. DAILY NEWS, BUFFALO, NY., NEWS) -- on LBJ making list of likely scapegoats in Dominican impasse
- N. Marquis Childs Column, 21 May 1965 (ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH, WASHINGTON POST) -- on CIA password now being "gung ho" floowing DCI's part in Dominican crisis
- O. Ted Lewis article, 14 Apr 65(N.Y. DAILY NEWS) -- on prospects of the new DCI being able to improve CIA

Raborn Approved Foiled letime 2000/0000000/CK-RDE75-00001/B000140160036,17, J

The submission of the names of communists in the Dominican Republic, with several mistakes, embarrassed the Administration. (B, τ , N

It is possible that the feeling against Raborn from within CIA stems from a clash of personalities. (B

There are stories of urgent conferences at CIA suddenly untracked as Raborn dilated at length on how he took over the Polaris project in 1955. (D

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Because secrecy is his business Raborn **EMPRET** is handicapped in counterposing a record of public achievement; the job of assistant to the director for public affairs was abolished in September because "we have no public affairs." (D

Plus factors for Raborn: LBJ had decided on Dominican intervention before Raborn took over; a jovial manner that pleases important foreign guests at golf matches (he plays a generally bad game); he has guts to ask the Budget Bureau for more money; although he may not speak the Queen's English once he is given an explanation about an operation he has a lot of horse sense about it. (D

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Raborn is fighting axxampaignxss what he considers a campaign by his own staffers to discredit him; he has already exiled one top aide to the field and others may follow. (E

Foreigners who criticize CIA most (USSR, Ghana, etc.) know that CIA is a good intelligence organization, one whose ratio of incompetents is no higher than that of the U.S. Senate. (F

The standard device for scorning CIA around the world is to discredit the Peace Corps, USIA, and other American agencies by linking them to CIA. (F

Suspicion and fear of CIA abroad has become an Achilles heel of $U_{\bullet}S_{\bullet}$ foreign policy, which may seem to justify attacks on CIA in Congress and elsewhere. (F

People in Zambia (probably based on their reading of "The Invisible Government") believe fervently that CIA is in the business of overthrowing and installing governments all over the world-without the approval and knowledge of the Secretary of State and the President.(F

Secretary of State Rusk's commendation of CIA, at a White House conference on international cooperation, is significant because of sniping by certain administrationites at Raborn; these sources, some in the State Department, have been planting critical stories with newsmen, and Rusk was asked at the conference: "What can be done when the CIA seems to be making policy, completely removed from the public and even from government control?" (G

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It is no scret that White House personnel adviser John Macy has made suggestions which have not met with the President's high standards: he pushed strongly for the appointment of Raborn, who has been disappointingly ineffective. (H

 9 1965

CPYRGHT

Letter Asking U.S. Troop Aid Is Made Public

By Carroll Kilpatrick Washington Post Staff Writer

The Organization of Amerian Republic official requestng American military inter from Santo Domingo. ention to protect lives.

Contents of the document, hich President Johnson reerred to in his original anmerican forces were landing OAS. n Dominican soil, had not reviously been disclosed.

It is the first evidence to upport the United States ssertion that it was intervenng at the request of Dominian authorities to protect lives and property.

resident Col. Pedro Bartolo-lows: ne Benoit to U.S. Ambassalor W. Tapley Bennett Jr...

Icads 2d Regime

The first provisional governebel troops made incursions nto the center of Santo Do-

The five-man Special OAS an States made public yester- Committee printed the letter ay a letter from a Domini- in its report to the OAS Council yesterday, after its return

United States officials said they had not previously publighed the letter, even though it' supports the President's ouncement of April 28 that mitted in evidence to the

Lives in Danger

The Benoit letter to Bennett contains the seal of the Dominican Republic and is on stationery of the Office of the Air Force Chief of Staff. It was sent to Bennett after Dated April 28, the letter an oral request Benoit had as written by former junta made to him. The letter fol-

"Regarding my earlier request I wish to add that American lives are in danger and conditions of public dis-Benoit was installed as lead-order make it impossible to er of what has been called the provide adequate protection, had received an urgent re-econd provisional government I therefore ask you for tempo-quest from the diplomatic early on the same day that he rary intervention and assist missions for protection tha wrote to the American Ambas ance in restoring order in he was not able to provide this country.'

nent was that of Rafael Mo-said that when it arrived in the Unied States in a note, ina Urena, installed by the Santo Domingo last weck it copy of which was transmitted rebels when they expected the immediately sought to ascer-later to the Special Commit mminent return of former tain "whether it was true that tee."
President Juan Bosch. But the action of United States A Molina sought refuge in the military forces in the Domini dramatic intervention an Colombian embassy when antiquested." The report added:

the deterioration of public acted after representatives o

country had led him to request the aid of United States armed forces in order to give protection to the diplomatic missions and foreign persons and entities in general.

"Col. Benoit added that he Col. Benoit also stated that The OAS Special Committee the request had been made to

After President Johnson's of April 28, U.S. officials re "Col. Benoit explained that ported that the President order in the city of Santo Do the second provisional govern mingo, which started on the ment and the Santo Domingo day that the movement against police chief had informed Ben Mr. Reid Cabral began, and nett that safety of American the conditions of anarchy and could no longer be guaranteed complete disorder that pre-But no documentation was vailed in the capital of the provided at the time.

Abproved For Release 2000/09/08: CIA-RDP75-00001R000100160036-1

Raborn Approved For Release 2000109/08: GIA RDP75-00001189001091690365, I, J

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CPYRGHT

U.S. Aides to Debate With President's Critics

Government officials will ing to score debating points.
square off with academic criThe morning will feature on May 15.

Assistant to the President for of Cornell University in oppo-National Security Affairs, has sition.

University of Michigan, is A special telephone hookup staging the all-day session in will carry the afternoon sesthe ballroom of the Sheraton sion to at least 60 campuses Park Hotel. Attendence is by and radio stations across the invitation only, but the com-country, Sahlins said. mittee expects 3000 people.

Presidential assistant Michigan's Prof. Marshall McGeorge Bundy and other Sahlins said. "We're not try-

tics of President Johnson's pospeches by former White licy in Viet Nam in a "teach-House aide Arthur M. Schlein" to be held in Washington singer in support of the Administration and by Hans J. Mor Bunday's office confirmed vanthau of the University of yesterday that Bundy, Special Chicago and George M. Kahin

accepted the invitation — or challenge — of the Inter-ternoon, then join a panel of University Committee for a Public Hearing on Viet-Nam.

The committee, based at the with a panel in opposition.

Evening seminars on "We're hoping to stimulate rious aspects of the problem a well-reasoned dialogue," also will be held.

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A T TACHMENT B Approved For Release 2000/09/08: CIA-RDP75-00001R000100169036-1

The major charges made in these articles are summarized below, with

the source identified (by corresponding letter in parentheses) to the listing in

: A transatto -

Declining morale at CIA will be accelerated by decision of top-flight professional to resign DD/I for lesser job. This will leave gaping CIA at time when internal dissatisfaction with Raborn is highest. (A

Several prominent and responsible government officials outside CIA and some prosinside have such serious doubts about Raborn's aptitude for the job of DCI that they are openly voicing their concern. (B K

Raborn cannot grasp the nuances of complicated international politics. (B, D, I, J, K

Away from the military system to which he is accustomed Raborn is a sloppy administrator. (B

As a result of Raborn's lack of sophistication CIA is rapidly losing influence on U.S. policy to the FBI and military intelligence. (B

Raborn is no happier with CIA than his critics with him; his wife told friends that "Red wants out." (B

The fact that the attacks sound so authoritative and are so widespread weakens effectiveness of Raborn and CIA; public suspicion and lack of confidence in CIA projects might cause congressional demands for budget figures to be made public. (B

Raborn bawls out extremely well-qualified workers as if they were common seamen. (C,D $\,$

Raborn is espionage work. (C, D, I, K, N

Recommendations by CIA professionals, who almost always are Goldwater conservatives, more and more rarely reach the President. And those reports which Raborn does relay to the President he gets wrong. (C

The President finds Raborn boring. (C

Raborn is insensitive to the professional pride of his staffers. (D

Conflicting tales leak out of CIA: some β ros claim Raborn is purposeful and promising while others say he is inept. (D

Raborn's lack of qualifications for the job has put CIA at a corporate disadvantage in the jealously-ridden intelligence community, especially in relations with DIA; Raborn is simply outclassed in top policy councils by Defense Secretary McNamara. (D

LBJ moved Helms up as the professional deputy director and brought Raborn in, as a sort of caretaker for a year or two, since he was a past master at dealing with Congress. (D

others are located, and does not know the meaning of words like oligarchy. (D,C,B,J, K

CPYRGHT

9 1965 MAY

CPYRGHT

The Federal Diary

Johnson Displays Personal Interest In Economy Drive

By Jerry Kluttz

The President is known in Federal agencies as a "followupper" and an incident which happened the other day pro-

vides an example of how he has gained that reputation.

Mearly everyone is aware by this time that Mr. Johnson has been prahing for economy and

Kluttz essiciency in

Government with his "war on waste" program and the like. He also has ordered each President. agency to launch a cost-reduction program. Yet there are always the few skeptics who insist the President is using the economy issue to get politcal mileage out of it' and that he really isn't interested: in the merits of the issue.

Well, the other evening just before he left his office, A. E. Weatherbee, Administrative Assistant Secretary of the incy are pleased by the recog-or heroine—in each family Treasury, decided to send to the President of their professions are represented here." the White House a copy of a report he had compiled which showed Treasury had saved \$65 million through various economies during the past four years and half of it was accomplished during the past year since Mr. Johnson has been pounding away at the issue.

spent much of the day working on a new cost-reduction program and when he sent the report to the White House he could have wondered if anyone there would even bother with it.

tion outside his office and he tions of our Government has started out the door to in entered a new era within these hand and said he had to come over to personally congratulate the man who was responsible for saving the taxpayers \$66 million.

Weatherbee explained that the agencies had made the economics; that he was merely the "needle like you are" that encouraged them to do it.

nothing is more important than efficiency and economy, Viet-Nam and other such programs notwithstanding.

As the story of the Presiagencies are planning to send eports of their economies to system was intended to operhe White House in the hope they too will hear from the

the President of their professional Federal careers and his concern for their successful executive careers.

Mr. Johnson had his appointees and their spouses to

the White House for dinner the other evening. He gave a toast in which he made it clear that he would, continue to lean heavily on professional career people of proven ability. Said he in part:

"I strongly believe that the The very next afternoon staffing of the Executive posivestigate. There stood the past four years. At the high President who extended his tide of our success—in a Nation bursting with more talent and genius than perhaps any nation has known.—.we have laid aside the old concept that public positions could and

> would be filled with medicerity, selected on the basis of political preference.

"We have gone forth to find The President replied that the best in America to make sure that the functioning of our system is the best in the world. To me all of you represent the very best America has produced.'

The President revealed that "there is not a man or a womdent's midafternoon visit an in this room who asked me pread through Federal agen- for the job they have now. The ies, his cost-cutting program job has sought the individual was taken more seriously than and not vice versa. So long as ever and officials in other I am here, this will continue. I believe this is the way our

ate."

His diners must have glowed when he told them that "pub-Federal officials whom the lie service requires much ded-President has appointed con- ication, devotion and self-sacrifide that the President has fol- fice. For those who occupy pubowed up with them to offer lic positions, there are comhis help to solve agency prob pensations-rich and meaningems. Buf they say he also uses ful compensations. But the ris "needle" to seek full support for his Great Society and public life are those who give more than a full measure of As many of the officials are former career civil servants they are pleased by the recognition they have been already and a full measure of recognition. There is one such hero hition they have been already and the recognition of the recogniti

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RaboAphroxedines Release 2009/99/08ed CHARDPA500001R090400160036y1 gradually losing its high place in the Washington bureaucratic structure there is a question whether it will recover anytime soon after Raborn leaves. (I

So long as strong personalities like Dulles and McCone ran CIA its reports had priority over sometimes less reliable reports from DIA and a right-wing element in the latter was kept under tight control by their influence in the President's highest councils. (I

The President has not even called Raborn in to see him since his gall bladder operation two months before the beginning of December, and thus what ought to have been the relentless impact of CIA thinking on the President voiced by the DCI has been absent. (I

Raborn lacks the vital, enthusiastic interest in intelligence reports from the field, displays little curiosity about the intelligence craft, and can scarcely convey it to the President. (I

A lack of sensitivity in Raborn's dealings outside CIA was typified by the shock some Congressmen felt by his explanation of the Dominican crisis. (I

Raborn, being briefed by high Government officials on how to deal with the interlocking community of U.S. intelligence agencies, showed little interest in the basic problem and instead gave a lengthy irrelevant recital of his Polaris experiences. (I

The decline in Agency morale in Washington hasn(t hampered operations in the field yet, but some intelligence experts are deeply worried. (I

If CIA's place in Washington continues to give way to DIA, the absolutely essential interchange of intelligence with friendly foreign powers (sometimes as many as 30,000 documents a month with Britain's MI-6) conceivably could be compromised. (I

LBJ selected Rahorn partly as a caretaker to calm the Agency's often stormy relations with Congress, to leave after a relatively short period; with popular Raborn as DCI it was thought demands for a congressional watchdog committee would lessen, thus it is ironic that there are increasing demands for this spawned partly by the Raborn-induced CIA crisis. (I

The newest CIA crisi is internal, not external like the Bay of Pigs, and thus may be harder to cure. (I

Raborn's appearance before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee investigating the Dominican crisis, according to leaks, was inept. (J

A CIA man hearing of the Joseph Kraft column (K) regretted it "because this means he'll stay on for at least another year." (J

In the intelligence community there are daily questions such as: "Things have reached the point where I'm even beginning to wonder whether the Polaris can possibly be a good missile."

Such jibes have nothing to do with the missile, rather they are inspired by the performant of Admiral Raborn. Such gossip is sufficiently high level and widespread to merit reporting, the more so as even the Admiral's defenders do not bother to deny the charges. (K

Raborn's defenders argue that attacks are beside the point, that in fact complaints reflect a desirable condition that works to keep the influence of CIA within safe bounds. (K

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MAY 1 ! 1965

CPYRGHT

The debate debate

There is a debate over the debate.

American policy is the topic. The question is whether discussion of it is being inhibited.

Columnist Doris Fleeson has gone so far as to say that a "new McCarthyism" has appeared in "ugly accusations of appeasement being hurled with gathering intensity by self-styled hard-liners against those who urge alternative policies.'

From high places there have been charges of ignorance, gullibility, or faintheartedness against some who disagree with the American policy in Vietnam.

Yet not all the professors at all the teach-ins can be accused of ignorance or worse. "Appeasement" cannot rightly be charged to all those who see a tragic irony in a President offering unconditional discussion at the same time he orders the bombing to continue. When United States troops in the Dominican Republic are added to the stepping up of war in Vietnam, a challenge to the role of international policeman can stem from motives as patriotic as those of citizens who go along with everything Mr. Johnson does.

To the President's credit, he has gone on record in favor of honest discussion of the issues. We agree. The fact that Communists, pro-Communists, or right-wing extremists also may oppose administration policies should not be used to smear those who loyally protest. The threat to American freedom is less from letting all have their say than from suppressing the loyal citizen along with the subversive.

To those in the rest of the world who are alarmed about administration decisions, free debate reinforces the basic American aim of protecting freedom. And

it shows that not all Americans favor military steps of the present kind.

Thus it is encouraging to hear that an internationally circulated lampooner of administration policy is hopeful about the conditions for debate. He is Jules Feiffer, whose satire is not tethered to any narrow political position.

On educational television the other night he said that the national debate. on Vietnam suggests that the possibilities. for such debate are better now in the United States than at any other time since

the cold war began.

Though press and public may receive less information from the government than they would like, they have certainly spoken their minds. Despite the mushy air of consensus, criticism on domestical programs increases. And the debate on foreign policy so far has not been diminished by the "attempts to swamp debate" seen by Miss Fleeson.

Freedom must still be secure in a country where, at the height of military occupation of the Dominican Republic, a television program pictures a sad aftermath of American intervention in another Latin-American country, Guatemala. And when the proadministration Joseph Alsop attacks the critic Hans Morgenthau, the latter is given space to reply. We suggest?

that neither is an ignorant man.

This newspaper has taken the view that threats to freedom in both Vietnam and the Dominican Republic have warranted military action with a view to the quickest possible recognition of law and the will of the people. Yet we know that even the best policies need the challenge and often the tempering that would be missing without free and open debate.

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Raborn's recommendations in the government's highest policy councils are said to bear little relationship to the facts he presents; he occasionally broached as fresh matters subjects that had been exhaustively discussed only five minutes before or his point of departure is the exact opposite of a decision just taken. (K

Morale has apparently sunk in the research and analysis sections of the Agency particularly among the group preparing long-run estimates. (K

The defense against these charges depends on discounting their importance: with such sophisticated policy makers as McNamara, Rusk, and Bundy around LBJ is hardly dependent upon the special insights and perception of the DCI. (K

The great mass of CIA activities are rooted in technology; like all other large government agencies CIA is said to have experienced difficulty in digesting the new technological developments and in using them to best advantage to meet the changing demands for information. ** The present need is to bring CIA abreast of technological responsibilities, and Raborn is acid to be doing a good job in this top priority job. (K

The important thing for the nation's welfare is to keep CIA--with its special vested interest in prolonging the cold war--from pax playing too large a role in the policy-making process. By having a Director more versed in hardware than in policythe flow of information is maintained without the Agency becoming a dominant influence in the basic policy decisions. (K

The reasons cited above bear all the earmarks of a rationalization after the event. The successor for McCone was supposed to be a good manager with the confidence of the Congress: this is a formula more apt to turn up Babbits than men of nice judgement and a feeling for penetrating analysis. (K

Raborn has shuttered the CIA public relations office because he decided a super-secret agency does not have any public affairs. (L

Presidential advisers are looking for scapegoats to blame the Dominican mess on: Raborn id being accused of making too emotional an appeal to the White House about the communist threat; Administration sources should know better since the appeal for prompt action came from McCone. (M

The digs at Raborn are basically aimed at the intelligence operation he heads; State and Defense have consistently cast aspersions on the value of CIA evaluations. (M

What leaks out of State, Defense, or CIA privately on the Dominican mess has no relation to the statements issude publicly by the Administration even at the White House level. (M

Raborn's gug gung-ho approach approach to his task startled other participants in the high-level conference leading to the decision to intervener in the Dominican Republic. (N As one of the President's principal advisers remarked afterward he cast himself in the role of Paul Revere charging inxxxxx into the NSC. (N

"I wish John McCone was still over there running CIA and I never thought I'd see that day," another participant at the meeting said. (N

In today's complex and perilous world the direction of a vast intelligence apparatus and the advice based on that operation must be measured against a broad undrestanding of trends a policies everywhere; a crusading anticommunism, however, dedicated, is hardly a substitute. (N

Under the new management of Raborn, with his outstanding administrative abaility, it mathematical control of the m

WASHINGTON POST AND TIMES HERALD

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CPYRGHT

CPYRGHT

Censorship Cuts

French Ambassador Off Radio

By Waverley Root radio station Europe Number One this morning heard France's Ambassador to Santo Domingo cut off in the middle of a telephone conversation, apparently by American cen-

mated 4 million listeners to Gen. Antonio Imber Barrera was cut off. 'government" just formed.

Europe Number One had ican voice broke in: "I am ly produced for fear some of The Washington Post Foreign Service phoned the French embassy terminating this communicathe Latin American nations— PARIS, May 8 - An esti-to ask for information on the tion," and the Ambassador if not France-might recog-

> This incident has perhaps o give details on it. An Amer-junta in a new costume, hasti-about the Paris report.]

nize Caamano.

[In Washington, James M. The radio audience heard helped to strengthen the im- Greenfield, Assistant Secretary he Ambassador say: "A new pression here that the Imbert of State for Public Affairs, said eam has just taken over the government is simply the "there is no censorship" in military junta," and he started Gen. Elias Wessin military Santo Domingo when asked

> "The Johnson Government, completely discredited in Latin America despite its pyrrhic victory before the OAS Council," writes Le Monde, "is seeking a political solution which will permit it to save: the counter-revolutionary forces of Gen. Wessin."

Continuing severe about the whole Santo Domingo operation, Le Monde adds that "in two weeks the United States has wrecked a credit achieved with difficulty since the Alliance for I rogress was started

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- K. Joseph Kraft Column, 1 Nov 65 (WASHINGTON POST, CHICAGO NEWS, etc.) -- on jibes about the DCI's ability to run CIA
- L. NEWSWEEK "Periscope" article, 13 Sept 65--on DCI shuttering the CIA "public affairs" office (with subsequent N.Y. TIMES explanation)
- M. Ted Lewis article, 22 May 65 (N.Y. DAILY NEWS, BUFFALO, NY., NEWS) -- on LBJ making list of likely scapegoats in Dominican impasse
- N. Marquis Childs Column, 21 May 1965 (ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH, WASHINGTON POST) -- on CIA password now being "gung ho" floowing DCI's part in Dominican crisis
- O. Ted Lewis article, 14 Apr 65(N.Y. DAILY NEWS) -- on prospects of the new DCI being able to improve CIA